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The Names of the Assyro-Babylonian Months and their Regents.

II.⁶²

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THE second half year began with the month *Tiš-ri-tum*, Mishnic תִּשְׁרִי; Greek Θισρί, Joseph. *Antt.* viii. 4, 1 (as emended by Hudson; Niese Ἀθίρει). This word is properly the infinitive Piel of the verb *šurrû* (Hebr. שָׁרַר, Aramean שָׁרָא) = 'begin, dedicate.'⁶³

According to Delitzsch (*Hebrew and Assyrian*, p. 15; *Prolegomena*, 138, note 3) it means 'beginning' of the second half year, or the civil year. Jensen (ZA. I. 409 sqq. and II. 220, note 1) explained it as the month when the harvest began, or still better, when the fruit began to germinate; in his *Babylonian Cosmology* (p. 239, note 1), however, he inclines to the view of Delitzsch. According to J. Oppert the Assyrian eponymate, *limmu*, began with this month, while the *šattu* commenced in Nisân.⁶⁴

Like the modern Jews the Assyrians had two New Year's days, which were adopted by the Jews together with the names of the months; the sacred year began with the first of Nisân, the civil year with Tišrî. G. Bertin in *Records of the Past*, New Series, Vol. III. 98, remarks that the second paragraph of the ancient Babylonian agricultural precepts (H^T 71 sqq.) goes to show that the simple land-tenure was to begin legally from the sixth month, that is, the Babylonian Ulûlu. The end of that month is no doubt meant, and it would tend to confirm the opinion that at an earlier date

⁶² See Vol. XI. pp. 72-94.

⁶³ Whence also *tašrîtu*, 'consecration'; it is a form like *taqlîtu* and *teqlîtu*, 'prayer,' from *çullû*, 'ask, pray'; *teqlîtu*, 'a request,' from *çubbû*, 'request,' and many more (see Delitzsch, *Assyrian Grammar*, § 34, 8).

⁶⁴ London *Athenæum*, 1863, Vol. II. 244 sq.; the word is derived by Oppert from לָאֵם 'unite,' whence לָאֵם = λαός, 'people.' The latter was considered an Ionic form, and became in Attic *lābs* (P. de Lagarde).

Tišritu was the first and Ulûlu the last month of the year; though the Babylonians might have had an agricultural year, as we have a financial year, a scholastic year, a university year. Epping and Strassmaier (*Astronomisches aus Babylon*, p. 177 sqq.) state that the Seleucid era began in Nisân, the Arsacidan in Tišrî: the former was the old reckoning, and was kept up for many centuries; the latter, they argue, arose under the influence of the Macedonian government, because the Macedonian New Year began in the fall, and there is no inscription prior to the Arsacidan era known, which begins the year with the month Tišrî.

The late Hebrew form Tišrî originated by a dropping of the ending *-tu*; cf. *ultu abu* for *ultu abût*, 'antiquitus,' from *abûtu*, abstract noun to *abu*, 'father.' (Professor Haupt.)

The non-Semitic name of this month is ITU DU-U-AZAG. *Du-u* occurs in the East India House inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, col. iv. 57, *du-u parakki*, which by some is compared to Arabic *dhû*, 'lord, master'; thus it would mean "the month of the pure, brilliant Lord," i.e. Šamaš, the sun-god, who presides over this month. According to others it means "the month of the sacred mound or dwelling," and Theo. G. Pinches translates it "the month of the glorious mound," i.e. the mountain, or place, of the fates (*ašar šimâtum*).

The month is dedicated to the god Šamaš, the sun-god, who is called the supreme judge of the universe, *da'ānu ʿīru ša kalama*. This idea passed probably to the Jews, and resulted in the later belief that the festival of the Rôš-haš-šanah is also a day of judgment (יום הדין); thus the religious idea of the Assyro-Babylonians connected with the month Tišritu passed over to the Jews at the same time with the name.⁶⁵ Šamaš is called "the lightbearer of the wide heavenly expanse, to whom the gods look up and in whom people delight themselves"; "the light of heaven and earth," *nûr (ša) šamê u ercitim*; "the warrior of the universe," *quradu kalama*; "the prince among the gods, the lord Šamaš," *ašarid ilāni, edlu Šamaš*; "the Lord of the universe," *bêl elāti u šaplāti*. He is the protector of laws, avenger of justice, and he abhors every lie. The sacred number of Šamaš is twenty.

His consort is *A-a*, "the great, beloved bride of Šamaš," *kallatu naramtu ša Šamaš*, read by Schrader *malkatu*; she is the mistress of the countries, *bêlit matâtî*, II. Rawl. 57, 32.⁶⁶ According to Jensen

⁶⁵ J. Halévy, *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire*, p. 178.

⁶⁶ See *Am. Journ. Phil.* XI. 497, rem. 5.

(ZA. I. 398 and IV. 75) it is but a phase ("Hypostase") of the sun; cf. IV. Rawl. 32, 24 b, where Šamaš is called *bêlit matâti*.

Šamaš is usually considered the son of Sin and the brother of Anunit-Ištar.⁶⁷ His messenger is *Bunênê*, who is his charioteer and harnesses the strong mules (?) whose knees never tire.⁶⁸ His chief places of worship were: (a) Larsa, Biblical Ellasar (?), modern Senkereh. The name is usually explained from the non-Semitic ZA-RA-AR-MA (H^T 27, 589) = ZALARMA, which in time was changed to LAZARMA, whence *la-ar[za]*. M. J. Halévy (*Recherches critiques*, 260) considers it the Λάραρχα of Berossus,⁶⁹ and perhaps = 'al-ersa (אֶל-אֶרְסָא, 'city of the throne,' Hebrew עֶרֶשׁ, Arabic 'ars; in his *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire*, p. 288, he explains it as 'not destructible, indestructible' (*la* = not, *arsa* = Hebrew הָרָם), perhaps an appellative name for an old fortress; its identification with אֶרְסָא, Gen. xiv. 1, is quite precarious. Larsa was the great mathematical university of ancient Babylonia. (b) Sippara (modern Aboo-Habba), according to Haupt *Texts* from non-Semitic ZI-IM-BIR. There was a *Sippara ša Šamaš* and a *Sippara ša Anunit*. The two together, according to A. H. Sayce (*Records of the Past*, New Series, I. 29, rem. 4) formed the Biblical Sepharvaim, or two Sipparas. The Latin Hipparenum (Pliny, *Hist. nat.* vi. 26, [36], 123) is probably a wrong reading for Sipparenum.⁷⁰ It is called in Greek writers Heliopolis, and is represented by the modern Aboo-Habba, where Hormuzd Rassam discovered the ancient temple of the sun-god. On the location of Sippara see Dr. Wm. Hayes Ward's article in *Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.*, October, 1885, p. lxxiii sqq. M. J. Halévy⁷¹ denies the identity of Sippara and the Biblical Sepharvaim (Isaiah xxxvi. 19); סַפְרַיִם (2 Kings xviii. 34 and xix. 13) and סַפְרַיִם (*ibid.* xvii. 31) are wrongly pointed for סַפְרַיִם, which stands for סַפְרַיִם, and this for סַבְרַיִם (Ezech. xlvii. 16), situated between Hamath and Damascus; it is identical with *Saharā'in* (Babylonian Chronicle, I. 27) and *Subarina* (of the El-Amarna inscriptions).

⁶⁷ Cf. Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*³, p. 135, l. 24, 26, and 28.

⁶⁸ I have shown in *Hebraica*, VII. 90, that the name *Bunênê*, mentioned in connection with (*il*) Šamaš and (*ilat*) A-a is of Semitic origin, not Akkadian as hitherto believed; it is a form like *êlênu*, from *banû*, 'shine.'

⁶⁹ But Jensen and others put Λάραρχα = *Šurippak*, mentioned in the account of the *Deluge*, l. 11.

⁷⁰ ZA. VI. 61.

⁷¹ *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire*, pp. 162 and 224, note 1; ZA. II. 401-2; *Journal Asiatique*, 8th series, XVII. 271; *Am. Journ. Phil.* XII. 381.

It was thus a Syrian city, and the name is to be combined with **סָפָר** 'frontier' (Halévy, *Recherches critiques*, 259).⁷²

The zodiacal sign for this month is read by Strassmaier and Epping *nûru*, 'light, lamp'; the non-Semitic BIR is, of course, from the Semitic *bêru*, 'shining, brilliant.' According to Robert Brown the original sign for this month was the solar circle, or a circular altar, grasped in the claws of the Scorpion. At this season of the year the waning sun begins to yield under the attacks of the Scorpion (darkness), that grips him more and more. The circle, or other representation of an altar, not unnaturally disappeared as the use of the sign advanced westward, whether by sea, or across Asia Minor, or both, and the *χηλαί* alone remained when the shores of the Ægean were reached. The term Libra for this sign occurs first in Manilius *Astronomica*, iv. 545. Achilles Tatius says: τὰς χηλὰς, τὰς καλουμένας ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων Ζυγόν. Jensen, again, in ZA. VI. 152, reads the sign of the Zodiac *zibanitu*, which he has discovered as a word in Assyrian literature, reading IV. Rawl. 58, 44, *iç zi-ba-nit* (!) *la ket-ti*, "a wrong balance wrong scales." He favors an etymology of the word from a noun, **zibu* = **zābu* = **zāhabu* = 'gold' (**זָהָב**); thus scales originally the instrument to weigh gold. Cf. also Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 67 sqq.

The eighth month is the (*arax*) *araxsamna*⁷³; late Babylonian *arax šauna* = **יָרֵחַ שְׁמִינִי**. The original form probably was **יָרֵחַ שְׁמִן**, whence arose **יָרֵחַ שְׁמִן**, **יָרֵחַ שְׁמִן**, and **יָרֵחַ שְׁמִן** being often exchanged in later Babylonian⁷⁴; Joseph. *Antt.* I. 3, 3, has the form *Μαρσόννης*, and Joseph. *Hypomnesticum*, c. 27, *Μαρσαβάν*. The meaning of *araxsamna* is 'month, the eighth'.⁷⁵ The modern Hebrews considered *Marxešvân* a compound of 'mar' (drop) and *xešvân*; the former indicating that it was a rainy season, the latter being the proper name of the month. On the Palmyrenian inscriptions this month is called *Kanân*.

According to some authorities (Dillmann, Stade, *al.*) the name

⁷² According to Professor Haupt (ZA. II. 267) Sepharvaïm might be = **סִפְרָאִיִּם** = **סִפְרָאִיִּם** "Sippar on the Euphrates river."

⁷³ Paulus Cassel, l.c. 320 says: *Marxešvân* is to be explained as 'rain-month,' from the verb *raxaš* = *raxaš*, 'flow, run,' with which the Greek *μαμακτηριών* agrees.

⁷⁴ J. Halévy, *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire*, p. 3, note 4; Haupt in ZA. II. 265 sq.; *Hebraica*, I. 120, note 2.

⁷⁵ *Arax*, const. state of *arxu* in compounds, just as *mār-šarrātu*, 'princely dignity'; *alīk panātu*, 'headship'; *ndš paṭru*, 'slaughterer'; *mārnisqu*, 'horse'; *aban nisigt*, 'precious stones,' and many others. — *samnu*, 'eighth' = Ethiopic *sāmēn* (*samānt*), Hebrew **שְׁמִינִי**; also the form *samanā* is found.

"eighth month" is a relic of the oldest custom of numbering the months instead of giving them special names; this would be similar to what we find to be the case with the months of the Arabic lunar year, and would correspond to the custom prevalent among a number of Indo-European nations, *e.g.* the Romans. But M. J. Halévy⁷⁶ maintains that the name *araxsamna* does not prove that, before the actual nomenclature observed in later time, the months were indicated by numerals, as was the case with the Biblical months.⁷⁷ The number eight, he believes, makes allusion to the eighth Cabire (Κάβειρος), particularly worshipped among the Phœnicians under the name Ešmûn (אֶשְׁמוֹן) = Æsculapius, Ἀσκληπίος, and whose title seems to have been אֶשְׁמֹן מְרִיפָא.⁷⁸ Concerning the seven Cabires of the Phœnicians, it has been said that the seven evil spirits of the Assyro-Babylonian Hymns may correspond to them, to whom Ešmûn was added as the eighth simply because they could not explain his name except from the number eight.

The non-Semitic for *araxsamna* is read ITU APIN-GAB(-BA)⁷⁹ = "month of laying foundations," or rather of the "achievement of foundations" (Halévy) or "month of opening the fields" (P. Jensen). The second edition of IV. Rawlinson contains on plate 33* a hemerology of the month Araxsamna, showing the same peculiarities as that of the intercalary Elûl, for which see above (p. 93).

The regent of the month is Marduk, the herald of the gods; Hebr. מְרִיפָא.⁸⁰

Regarding the etymology of Marduk-Merodach we note: 1. The majority of Assyriologists derive the word from an Akkadian etymon; so Hommel in his *Vorsemitische Kulturen*, 376 and 492, note 232; Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, 49; and Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 242 sq. The latter considers *Mar-du-ku* as derived from *Mar DU-AZAGA*; but the month DU-AZAG is the month dedicated to the god Šamaš. The oldest form of the name is usually put down as MERI (*gallu*) DUG, the determinative *gallu* making DUG an adjective, and the whole

⁷⁶ *Revue des Études Juives*, 1881, p. 187, rem. 3 = *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire*, p. 179.

⁷⁷ Cf. Stade and Siegfried, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. מְרִיפָא.

⁷⁸ See, however, Baudissin, *Studien*, I. 275 sqq.

⁷⁹ See ZA. II. 210, for variant readings.

⁸⁰ Cf. Jerem. I. 2; Merodach Baladan (Isaiah xxxix. 1) = Μαρδοκέμπαδος (Ptolem. Canon) = Marduk-(a)bal iddina; also see Μεσσημορδάκου = Mušezib-Marduk and Evil-Merodach = Amel-Marduk. The vocalization of Heb. מְרִיפָא is perhaps the result of a popular analogy to nouns like מְבוֹרָה, מְבֹרָה, etc.

phrase is interpreted as "the propitious bull."⁸¹ 2. Heinrich Zimmern, in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, XI. 161 sqq., has identified Mordechai (מֹרְדֵּכַי, Μαρδοχαῖος) of the Book of Esther with the god Marduk. He believes that the whole narrative of the Book of Esther is a Jewish reflex of old Babylonian traditions. As the god Marduk was the hero of the Babylonian *Zagmuku* festival (the New Year's festival), the god who arranged the *puxru*, assemblage of the gods, on that day (whence Hebr. *pûrîm*), that they might cast the lot (לִּנְדֹּף, Esther iii. 7) and determine the fate of the king and country, so also was Mordechai the hero of the Pûrîm festival. The contest between Mordechai and Haman is but a Jewish version of the Babylonian legend of the fight between Marduk, the principle of light, and Tiamat, the principle of darkness, which ends in the victory of Marduk in the one case and of Mordechai in the other. In the course of his remarks Zimmern gives an etymology of the name Marduk, which he considers a compound of Semitic *mar*, 'son,' and *duku*; an originally Akkadian word for 'hall, spacious room,' i.e. the hall where the gods, under the presidency of Merodach, had their annual meeting. With Jensen and Zimmern I agree on the etymology of *mar* (from *māru*, 'son'); but I take *duku* to be a good Semitic noun: compare Aramean *duk'ta*, 'place'; Arabic *dukkān*, and Talmudic *dukan* ('terrace'). The chief objection to Zimmern's etymology is that it presupposes a compound of an Assyrian and an Akkadian word, something unheard of; Halévy, therefore, considers it a compound of מֶרַךְ 'son, or lord' (cf. מֶרַךְ + *utukki*, 'demons' = 'Lord of the demons').⁸²

Marduk is called *be-li-im ra-bi-im*, "great lord"; *bēl bēlim*, "lord of lords"; *gašri ilāni ašarid šamē u ercitim*, "the powerful among the gods, the leader of heaven and earth"; *aklu bēl te-ri-e-ti*, "the wise, lord of oracles"; *ab-kal ilāni bēl terēti*, "leader of the gods," etc.; *rē'um muštē'u rita ana ameli*, "the provider of nourishment for mankind"; *ašaridu ilāni muštīm šimāti*, "who determines the fate"; *bēl ilāni ba-an nimeqi*, "illustrious in wisdom." He, as

⁸¹ See also ZK. I. 309 sq.; II. 418; Latrille, *ibid.* II. 339. In II. Rawl. 55, 68 c. this name is explained by the gloss *A-sa-ru* (cf. H^r 37, 22) and in V. Rawl. 62, 45 ab, we read *A-sa-ri (kid)* = Marduk. The gloss is usually derived from the Semitic מֶרַךְ, cf. *i-sa-ar*, 'he rages'; according to A. H. Sayce it means 'nourisher,' and Hommel, *Geschichte Assyriens und Babyloniens*, 197, rem. 1. thinks that *sa* in this gloss has the value *mur*.

⁸² *Recherches critiques*, p. 260; against which Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 107, rem. 1, makes a faint attack.

well as his wife Çarpanit, have the title *muballit* (or *muballiṭat*) *mīte* (or *mitūti*), "who revives the dead." He is known also as *mar Eridu*, "son of Eridu," because of being the son of Ea (*Am. Journ. Phil.* V. 79). Eridu occurs in the Old Testament as עֵרִיד, Gen. iv. 18, and in the following chapter, verse 16, under the form עֵרִיד⁸³ (ZK. II. 404, No. 10). The name is supposed to be of Akkadian origin; ERI DUGGA = "good city." This would be in Assyrian *dlu ṭābu*, compared by Sir H. C. Rawlinson with Thib, the blessed city of Paradise (*Journal Royal Asiatic Soc.* 1891, p. 404). The sacred number of Merodach is eleven. Being the local deity of Babylon, he naturally became the most important of the gods when that city became the capital of the kingdom, and therefore he is called the "great god," "lord of lords," etc., and in Isaiah xlv. 1, Jerem. li. 44, he is called בֶּל. He was originally the god of the early morning sun, and at the same time of the sun in spring-time. To him, according to some, belonged the planet Jupiter.⁸⁴ He is closely related to Nabû of Borsippa, his son, and perhaps was originally identical with him. Nabû was the god of revelation and inspiration, the tutelar divinity of scribes, priests, and learned men; originally, perhaps, a fire god.

Babylon, Hebr. בָּבֶל, Arab. *bābil*, Old Persian *Bābiruṣ*, Greek Βαβυλών,⁸⁵ was situated near the modern Hillah. The name is written in various ways: 1. *Ba-bi-lu*, c. st. *Ba-bi-il*; *Ba-bi-i-lu* (*ki*), I. Rawl. 52, No. 6, 7, which, however, does not prove the length of the *i* (Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 498); *Ba-bi-lam* (*ki*), *Ba-ba-lam*, and *Ba-bi-lī*. St. Guyard and J. Halévy derive the name from the verb בָּלָל (*balalu*).⁸⁶ The usual etymology is from *Bāb-ilī*, 'gate of god,' to which corresponds the ideographic writing: 2. KA-DINGIR-RA-KI, with its dialectical (?) form KA-DIM-ME-IR-KI. 3. ŠU-AN-NA-KI = "the high, mighty city" (*cf.* Dan. iv. 30), IV. Rawl. 2, 10-11 c; I. Rawl. 49, 11 a and V. Rawl. 35, 30. 4. DINTIR-KI = *šubat balati*, 'seat of life,' V. Rawl. 60, 13 b. The *nomen*

⁸³ Philo translates עֵרִיד by πολυμύον. Although he read 'Irádh, he yet looked up in a dictionary, s.v. עֵרִיד, as עֵרִיד (Assyrian *udru*) is used in the meaning of πολυμύον.

⁸⁴ See, however, Epping and Strassmaier, l.c., p. 112.

⁸⁵ Æsch. *Persæ*, 54; derived according to Hommel, *Geschichte*, p. 596, from *Bāb-ilāni*.

⁸⁶ ZK. I. 416, rem. 3, and *ibid.* 114, bel. *Revue des Études Juives*, I. 12, rem. 2; and XV. 170, rem. 1. Also see Lhotzky, *Asurnačirpal*, 23-24; and ZA. I. 220, No. 15.

gentilicium is *Ba-bi-la-a-a*, 'a Babylonian,' *i.e.* one from Babylon (I. Rawl. 66, 8 b).

The principal temple of Babylon was *Esagila* read by F. Delitzsch *bīt* (=E) *šak-kil*; according to St. Guyard it is *ē-šakil* = 'grand house,' and J. Halévy takes it as a compound of *ē* (=Hebr. ע) 'habitation, dwelling' + *sag* (from *šaqû*, 'summit') + *ila* ('high' = *elû*, עֵלִי). It was the only principal temple in the city, but it included various small sanctuaries within its precincts. It may have formed part of the royal palace. Within was the shrine of Marduk, containing his golden chair and the sacred boat which was carried in processions; a shrine for his father Ea, for his spouse Çarpanit, and for his son Nabû, the latter being called, like the entire temple at Borsippa, *Ezida*. This temple was similar both in age and fate to *Esagila* in Babylon.⁸⁷

Marduk's consort was the goddess *Çarpanitu*, 'the shining, brilliant.' It is thus a form *fā'alānu* of *çarapu*, 'be clean, shine'; causative 'purify, cleanse.' The word denotes the consort of Marduk as the goddess of the appearing, rising daylight. According to M. J. Halévy the name is connected with צַרְיָפָא, the tutelary goddess of Ascalon in Philistia. The orthography *Zer-ba-ni-tum*, "producer of seed" (begetter of posterity), V. Rawl. 46, 35-38, rests on a popular etymology. This, furthermore, led to her name (*ilat*) *E-ru-u-a* (עֲרוּיָא), V. Rawl. 62, 38 b; 46, 40 c. The Hebrew writer who translated her name as *Sukkôth-benôth* (2 Kings xvii. 30) no doubt thought of צַרְיָא, a synonym of *sukkôth*, 'tents,' and *banôth*, 'daughters.'⁸⁸

The sign of the Zodiac belonging to this month is the Scorpion, *kakkab* GIR-TAB = *agrabu*-star. The gigantic size of the scorpions is the representative of the sun-slaying darkness, eastern and western.⁸⁹

The ninth month is the *arax kislimu*, written *ki-si*-(var. -*is*)*li-mu*; Hebr. כִּסְלִי, *e.g.* Zech. vii. 1, לְחֹדֶשׁ הַתְּשַׁעִי בְּכִסְלִי; also Neh. i. 1. Greek Χασελεύ, I. Macc. i. 54; Χασλεύ, Joseph. *Antt.* xii. 5. 4; xii. 7. 6. On the Palmyrenian inscriptions the name occurs as כִּסְלִי, no doubt a development in ל from כִּסְלִי.⁹⁰

As regards the etymology of *Kislimu* Jensen (ZA. II. 210, rem. 3) suggested that it is a compound of *Kis* + Sumero-Akkadian ILIMU

⁸⁷ See, especially, C. P. Tiele's article in ZA. ii. 183 sqq.

⁸⁸ J. Halévy, *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire*, 162; *Revue critique*, 1890, June 23, 482; Haupt, *Andover Review*, May, 1886.

⁸⁹ See Robert Brown, l.c. 263-5; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 70-2.

⁹⁰ Like Hebr. כִּרְמִל = Assyrian *karmu*; עֲרַפִּל = *urpu* and *erpu*, 'cloud.'

=9; Professor Haupt (*ibid.* p. 265, rem. 2) considers it a compound like *kis* (כֶּסֶם) *lib-bi*; *kisi* would be the genitive for the usual *kis* (c. st.), while *limmu* or *lmu* means 'eponymate, year, period,' from לָאֵם 'surround.'⁹¹

The non-Semitic expression for this month is ITU KAN-KAN-NA, "month of clouds" (?); for variants see ZA. II. 210 and II. Rawl. 49, 3 b.

The month is dedicated to the god Nergal (or Nerigal, Jensen); LXX. τὴν Νεργέλ (var. Ἐργέλ); Lucian τὸν Νιριγέλ (Lagarde, I. 384); Hebr. נִרְיָל, 2 Kings xvii. 30. He is the god of war, κατ' ἐξοχήν; the "powerful warrior of Bel," *garra-du dan-nu ša Bêl*. A hymn to Nergal in IV. Rawl. 26 begins: "Warrior, mighty flood, overpowering the hostile country; warrior, lord of Aralû, god of Šid-lam-ta-e-a; mighty bull, powerful lord, lord of Cutha."⁹² He is called the "lord of fight and battle," *git-ma-lu šar tamxari*; "lord of bow and arrow," *bêl belê u qašâti*; he is also the "king of the seers," *šar bârê* (Akkadian NIN-A-ZU, H⁹ 98, 40; *azu*, no doubt, being from the Semitic *asû*, 'physician'; since priests in those days were physicians, seers, and diviners. Originally he may have been the same as Adar, the god of the all-destroying summer-heat. (See Jensen, l.c., p. 63.)

The name is usually derived from the Akkadian NE-UNU-GAL, "Lord of the great city," i.e. Hades, whence arose the dialectical form NE-URU-GAL (see Professor Haupt's statement in *Am. Journ. Phil.* VIII. 274, No. 7; also *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, October, 1887, p. xl.). The great city is the kingdom of death, the grave. This etymology was first proposed by Delitzsch in the second edition of his *Lesestücke*. J. Oppert (*Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1878, 1048) derived the name from the Semitic רִנָּל, and explained it as 'the wandering' ("der Wandelnde, wegen des Rücklaufs des Planeten"); also see J. Halévy, ZA. III. 343, below. His sacred number is fourteen.

His consort is *Allatu*, the *bêlit erçitim rabîtim*, "the lady of the great country" (NIN-KI-GAL), II. Rawl. 59, 33 d-f; also Herodotus i. 131. Professor Hommel connects *Allatu* for *Arlatu* from *Arâlatu* with the name of the mountain Aralû; but it is a Semitic word, and derived from *alalu* (אַלַל), 'be strong, mighty.'

⁹¹ Also see *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* October, 1887, p. lxiv. note 33; and Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 139. Paulus Cassel, l.c. p. 322, says: "Der Name leitet sich von כֶּסֶם dem Namen des Gestirnes Orion ab, welcher im December am Himmel steht."

⁹² *Qarradu*, *abûbu ezzu*, *sapîn mat nukurti* (according to Jeremias, Hades, but see Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 221); *qarradu bêl Aralû*, *ilu ŠID-LAMTA-E-A*, *rêmu* (רָאֵם) *rabû*, *bêl gašru*, *bêl Kâti*.

Nergal is the local deity of Cutha (Hebr. **נֶרְגַל**), which is compared to Akkadian GUDUA (IV. Rawl. 26, No. 1); see *Am. Journ. Phil.* V. 76. It is the modern Tell-Ibrahim, east of Babylon, a well known burial-place, and it seems that the name Kûtû (*e.g.* IV. Rawl. 31, 40a) is connected with the Hebrew **בֹּת** 'be at an end, *i.e.* perish, die.' Nergal was, in conjunction with Allatu, also the ruler of the underworld, and therefore the name Kûtû became an expression applied to Hades; the *erçit la tárat*, "the land whence there is no return" (*cf.* **לֹא אָשׁוּב** of Job), the *Ἄιδης* of the Greeks, called the *bît etê*, *bît êkliti*, *ašar la amari*, "the house of darkness, the place where one cannot see"; the Old Testament **שְׂאוֹל**. It is maintained by Delitzsch in his *Prolegomena*, p. 142, that *še'ôl* is found in Assyrian as *šu'ûlu*. But there is no passage where this noun is spelled phonetically. There are some cases in Assyrian glossaries where we read *šu-alu* (written ER) -*ki*, *e.g.* II. Rawl. 26, 39 = Delitzsch, *Lesestücke* 83, col. iii. 57, *šu-alu-ki* = NU-KAR-KI (hostile land) = *mât nukurtim*; but the reading is doubtful;⁹³ II. Rawl. 39, 41 b = Delitzsch, l.c. 80, col. ii. 33 = *ka-ni-iš* (*ki*), 'place of gathering' (from **כָּנַס** or **כָּנַשׁ**); also K 4362, col. iv. 13 and II. Rawl. 34, No. 6 (additions, Strassmaier, *Alphabetisches Wörterverzeichnis der Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. II. No. 2667); it is preceded by *qabru*, 'grave.' As a synonym occurs *ma-la-ak* (*ki*), 'place of judgment,' **κατάκριμα**.⁹⁴

The Zodiac sign for this month is the Archer (Sagittarius), ideographically written PA, which Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 497, considers an abbreviation of PA-BIL-ŠAG, name of the seventh constellation,

⁹³ See also Hommel, *Geschichte Assyriens und Babylonien*, p. 399. rem. 4.

⁹⁴ On this question see on the one hand Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 121; *Hebrew and Assyrian*, 20; Jeremias, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode* (Leipzig, 1887) p. 62, No. 3; p. 109, and *ibid.* rem. 3. A review of Jeremias' book by Dr. Cyrus Adler is to be found in the *Andover Review*, July, 1888, pp. 92-101. On the other hand, against the identification of *šu'ûlu* (*ki*) and **שְׂאוֹל** see E. Schrader, ZA. I. 461; H. Winckler, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1888, No. 25, col. 886; ZA. IV. 43 sq.; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 223 and 438; *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1890, col. 929, and ZA. V. 88, rem.; Budde, *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1888, Nos. 8 and 9, and 1890, col. 173; Hommel, *Geschichte*, p. 265, rem. 3; and above all, J. Halévy, *Revue des Études Juives*, XIV. 154. On the Phœnician *šē'ôl* in the Ešmunazar inscription see M. de Vogüé in *Journal Asiatique*, 1880, I. 278 sqq., and M. Jos. Derenbourg, *Revue Archéologique*, June, 1880. The word is also found in Egyptian documents under the form *sadlo*; *cf.* Sélikowitch (Goetzel) *Le schéol des Hébreux et le 'rest' des Égyptiens* (Bar-le-Duc, 1881, 18 pp.).

belonging to the seven (*lu-*)*ma-ši* stars.⁹⁵ The Pabilšag was in the vicinity of the ecliptic (Jensen, l.c. 55, No. 7; 60, note 1).

The tenth month is the *arax tēbētum*, Hebr. **טֶבֶת**, expressly called the tenth month in Esther ii. 16; **Τεβέθος**, Joseph. *Antt.* xi. 5, 4 (so the early editors; but see Niese). It is written **Ṭe-bi-tu** and **Ṭe-bi-e-tu**, and means "the muddy month." The rainy season, says Delitzsch in *Hebrew and Assyrian Language*, 15, commences in **טֶבֶת**, the month of rain-showers according to Sennacherib's graphic description in the *Taylor Cylinder*, IV. 75 sqq.;⁹⁶ and Senn. *Constantinople* (I. Rawl. 43) 42 sq., where we find the epithet of **Ṭebet**, ITU *tam-ṭe(!)-ri* (cf. *mi-iṭ-ru*, rain). On the form *tēbētu* see, above all, Professor Haupt's remarks in ZK. II. 272, and *Am. Journ. Phil.* VIII. 273, No. 5.

The name *tēbētu* is derived from *tēbū*, 'sink in, dip' = Hebr. **טָבַע**; Arabic, *ṭabi'a*, 'be soiled.'⁹⁷

The non-Semitic word for *arax tēbētu* is ITU AB-BA-UD-DU (UD-DU = E = *açû* H^r 27, 585 = **𐎶𐎵**) = "month of the forthcoming of the water" (weather-clouds?); AB-BA being perhaps the same as the non-Semitic word for *tāmtu* (**תְּמוֹת**) 'sea, ocean.' For variants see ZA. II. 210, and compare II. Rawl. 49, 4 e.

The regent of this month is Pap-sukkal, the messenger of Anu and Ištar, written. PAP LUX LUX = *Papsukkal sukkallu*. IV. Rawl. 33, 45; also *ibid.* 21 (No. 2) 52; III. Rawl. 68 (No. 3) 64 has AN-PAP (with the gloss *Pa-ap-su-kal*) LUX-LUX,⁹⁸ the right

⁹⁵ For further discussion see Robert Brown, l.c., pp. 265-67; also Jensen, l.c., 72-3; Jensen, *ibid.* remarks that the Mandeans call the constellation of the archer **חֵיָא** 'arrow'; this, of course, points to the reading XAT instead of PA, abbreviated from *xatlu*.

⁹⁶ *Arxu tam-ṭe-ri ku-uç-çu dannu e-ru-ba-am-ma* (var. *ku-uç-çu dan-nu ikšudamma*) *ša-mu-tum ma-at-tum u-ša-az-ni-na*. "In the rainy month (*i.e.* the month **Ṭebet** according to the parallel account) set in a great (unexpected) heat; this weather brought about a heavy rainfall, (the heavens) poured down a mass of rain." See my remarks in *Hebraica*, VII. 64.

⁹⁷ From the same *tēbū* (II. Rawl. 39, 63 cd.) we have the Assyrian noun *ṭi-im-bu'-u* = *tibbū*, 'seal ring' (ZA. V. 144, rem. 12) plur. *ṭim-bu-e-ti*, followed by the ideogram of *unqu*, 'ring' (in the *El-Amarna* inscriptions; e.g. *Journ. Asiatique*, 1890, XVI. 316, 22); it is the Hebrew **טַבַּעַת**, pl. **טַבַּעִיִּת**; *tabbī'u*, 'diver' (name of a water-fowl = *kakiš nāri*) II. Rawl. 37, 10 c and 60 b. Thus *tibbū*, 'seal ring,' literally 'the diver' sinking into the clay, as often as it seals a document, etc.

⁹⁸ In the syllabary S^a iii. 13, we read LA-AX = *suk-kal-lu* followed by ŠU-UK-KAL = *suk-kal-lu*; and in S^b 1, obverse, col. ii. 18, *a-bu* = PA-AP = 'father,' so Delitzsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 20; but according to Delitzsch, *Pro-*

column wanting; see also H^t No. 18, 10 b. In the descent of Ištar (IV. Rawl. 31, Reverse, 1) we find (*ilu*) *Pap-su-kal sukallu ilāni rabūti*, "Papsukkal the messenger of the great gods"; it is written phonetically in the imprecation, III. Rawl. 43-44, col. iv. 25. The name may be a compound of PAP = *ābu*, 'decider' (Hebr. אָב = *šā'ilu*) and *sukkallu* = LUX, 'messenger, servant.' Papsukkal seems to have been in early days a general name for messenger (cf. Hommel, *Vorsemitische Kulturen*, p. 480). He is the ἑὺσκοπος Ἑρμῆς (called ψυχοπομπός, *Odyssey*, 24, 1), the διάκτορος of the great gods, not merely the messenger, but also the mediator between god and man (cf. *Iliad*, 24, 24 sqq., 334 sqq.; *Odyssey*, 5, 28 sqq.). Some of his titles are "lord of bliss," "lord of the earth," "the strong one," etc. According to Jensen, l.c. p. 77, Papsukkal is identical with Nabû, the prophet god (Halévy); we find that Nabû (*Na-bi-um*) is called *su-ka-al-lam ši-i-ri mu-ša-ri-ku ūme balatišu*, "the lofty messenger, lengthening the days of his life"; and it seems very probable to me that the god Nabû should be the regent of a month.

The sign of the Zodiac corresponding to this month is read by Strassmaier-Epping *sax*, and combined with the Assyrian *šaxû* in the meaning of 'ibex.' According to Jensen, l.c. 73 and 83, the sun entered in Tebet into the sign of Capre, which formed the head of the *suxûru*-fish constellation; this constellation is called the star of Tašmetum (cf. V. Rawl. 46, 38 ab.), the wife of Nabû. The goat-fish, says Robert Brown, often appears on the monuments. Thus we find a fish-tailed goat, below which is the urn of Aquarius.

The eleventh month is the *arax ša-ba-tu*, Hebr. אֲרַחַשׁ, Zech. i. 7 (a corrupt passage, where most likely the number XI has fallen out); Greek, Σαβάτ (1 Macc. xvi. 14, ἐν μηνὶ ἑνδεκάτῳ, οὗτος ὁ μὲν Σαβάτ). The devastation of nature occasioned by the incessant rains (*zunne ša zunne*) and inundations (*riḫḫe*) of the month Tebêt culminates in the month אֲרַחַשׁ, when the fury of the weather reaches its highest pitch. This circumstance justifies the name *šabaṭu*, by which the month is characterized as 'the destroying one.'⁹⁹ This month is called the *arax arrat zunne*, "the month of the curse of rains," i.e. the month of the judgment of the flood.

legomena and others = *ābu*, 'decider.' On the etymology of Papsukkal see also Jensen, l.c. p. 313, rem. 2; J. Halévy, *Recherches critiques*, p. 33, compares Hebr. אָבִי and אָבִי.

⁹⁹ Cf. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 146, rem. 4; *Hebrew and Assyrian*, 16; *Prolegomena*, 38.

It is expressed in the non-Semitic by ITU AŠ-A-AN (or ŠEGI) ; cf. ZA. I. 308, rem. 1 ; II. 210, for variants.¹⁰⁰

This month is fitly dedicated to Rammân, "the leader in heaven and earth" ; *ašarid* (written TIG-GAL) *šamê u erçitim*, IV. Rawl. 33, 46. He is the storm god, and his name signifies the thunderer ; he is called *qar(ra)du*, 'hero' ; *gišru šuturu bêl xegalli*, "abundant flood, lord of abundance."¹⁰¹ He is also called (*iš*) *barqu*, "the god of lightning" (*birqu*) ; he is the *Addu* or *Daddu*, the Hadâd of the Syrians (ZK. II. 161, 311, and 366).

In the Old Testament (2 Kings v. 18) his name is wrongly vocalized as רַמְמֹן, a result of popular analogy to רַמְמִי, 'pomegranate.' The Septuagint Περμάν still shows the old Hebrew pronunciation רַמְמִי. Hesychius reads Παμάς, and adds ὁ ὑψιστος θεός, and Steph. Byz. has Παμάν ; cf. the proper name טַבְרַמְמֹן, 1 Kings xv. 18 = Ταβρεμμών ; but better Ταβερεμά (Swete), or Ταβερεμμαν (Lagarde), a compound like טַבְרַמְמֶל ; also see Zech. xii. 11.¹⁰²

Rammân is the chief of heaven and earth ; the god of the atmosphere, storm, clouds, thunder, and lightning (*ilu ša rêmi u ša birqi*) ; also the lord of the subterranean wells and of the rain ; the god of all the fierce elemental forces, and the evil spirits fight on his side. He is considered the "brave son of the god Anu." With Sin and Šamaš he represents the second triad of the Babylonian pantheon, the celestial powers, the lower triad ; while Anu, Bêl, and Ea are the higher triad, the creative powers.

His consort is the goddess Šala, which, according to Jensen (ZA. VI. 69), is probably an abbreviation of Šalaš, a word belonging to the language of Mitanni ; see also II. Rawl. 57, 33 a ; he continues : "Daraus schliesse ich, dass Šalaš aus Nord-Syrien importirt

¹⁰⁰ The noun *šabātu* is, of course, derived from the verb *šabātu*, 'strike, beat, kill' ; Hebr. שָׁבַט ; Ethiopic *zabāta* (z for š result of a partial assimilation to *ṭ* arising from the imperfect *yezbeṭ* for *yešbeṭ*) ; Sabea *ṣḥḥ* ; we have the nouns *šabbītu*, 'cane, stick' ; *šibtu*, c. st. *ši-biṭ* (*Rammân*), 'slaughter, plague,' Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, 38, rem. 3 ; but see *Revue des Études Juives*, where Halévy reads *šiptu* ; also ZA. IV. 280, rem. 1, and Jensen, l.c. p. 330 ; *šubtum* = *abābu*, "the destructive hurricane" ; *šabatu* = *šabaṭu* as *tābu* for *ṭābu*, etc.

¹⁰¹ *Rammānu* (for *Ramimānu*, ZA. VI. 61) is a derivative of *ramānu*, 'howl, thunder' ; *rdmimu*, the participle, is an epithet of Rammân. On the ideogram for Rammân see Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, p. 6, rem. 2.

¹⁰² On Rammân see, above all, Baudissin, *Studien*, I. 305 sqq. ; ZK. II. 108, No. 3 a ; 173 sqq. ; Pinches in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1883, p. 73 ; Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, pp. 19 and 48, and Jeremias, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 69, rem. 2.

worden ist und glaube wenigstens, dass dies darum und wegen des verhältnissmässig jungen Namens ihres Gemals Rammân auch mit letzterem der Fall gewesen." The sacred number of Rammân is six.

The name of the sign in the Zodiac is read GU = Assyrian *qû*, which, according to J. Oppert, is the name of a dry-measure (Hohlmass). Robert Brown would compare this Assyrian (reading *ka*) with Hebrew *kad*, 'pitcher, jar,' the reference being presumably to the urn of Aquarius, which, as Lenormant has noticed, is sometimes represented alone on the monuments, a part for the whole, in accordance with a familiar principle in symbolism. Also see Paul Haupt, *Sintflutbericht*, p. 11, and Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 94 sq.; E. Schrader, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 47; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 146. The name Aquarius for this sign is of occidental origin. Jensen, l.c. p. 81, says: "Nach den Benennungen der Orientalen zu schliessen dürften wir nicht nach einem Wassermann, sondern nur nach einer Amphora suchen. Die 'Amphora' steht in der babylonischen *apsû*-wassergegend des Himmels."

The twelfth month is called Addaru (*a-da-ru*), Hebr. אֲדָר; Esther iii. 7, לְחֹדֶשׁ שְׁנִים־עָשָׂר הוּא הָדָשׁ אֲדָר; cf. *ibid.* iii. 13, viii. 12, ix. 1, 15, 17, and 19; Ezr. vi. 15, לִירֵחוֹ אֲדָר in the Aramean (!) portion = *ina arxi Addari*. On the meaning of Addaru see Delitzsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 188 sqq., who suggests a derivation from אֲדָר (?) 'be dark,' as opposed to the *arax dru* from אֹר, 'be light.' It was the name of this month which induced former investigators to derive the Hebrew names of the months from the Persian, for in Persian we have Âdâr as the name of a month (Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 8 sq.).

The non-Semitic name for this month is rather strange: ITU ŠE-KIN-DUD = *arax eçedi*, "month of the cutting of corn, harvest-month" (see Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 92, and for variant readings ZA. II. 211).¹⁰³

The month is presided over by the seventh (?) of the great gods (IV. Rawl. 33, 47). According to the legend of the god of pestilence (M. 55, col. iv. 22), it is either (*ilu*) *Dibbara* (*Lubarra*) himself, or like the demon *Isum* (Delitzsch, *I-taq*, עִתְקָן, 'seizer, destroyer,' and Hommel, *Geschichte*, p. 226, note 3), in his ser-

¹⁰³ SE-KIN-KUD = *eçedu*, H^t 68, 5; 204, 22; II. Rawl. 31, 82 = *eldu*, II. Rawl. 32, 71 gh. In Sabean we have the harvest-month: רמחמרים.

vice.¹⁰⁴ He is the last of the twelve great gods mentioned in the *Bavian* inscription of Sennacherib. According to Pognon the Igigi are meant; but see against this Jensen (ZA. I. 7 sqq.), and my notes on these demons, above, p. 80.

We are told in III. Rawl. 53, No. 2, 13, that Merodach is called "the fish of Ea" in the month Adâr. This may enable us to explain the sign for the last month of the year. The connection of the Zodiacal Pisces with this month is plainly due to the title which Merodach, as a star, bears during this month. The double month Adâr and Ve-adâr would be the origin of the double Pisces, thus suggesting that the signs of the Zodiac were named at a later date than the months (A. H. Sayce, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* III. 166). Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 81 sq. and 314, considers the Zodiacal sign *Zib* as a variant or a ligature of *nu-nu* fish, and reads it accordingly. I believe that he is correct, notwithstanding the remarks of Robert Brown (l.c. 269) to the contrary. The latter reads *Zib*, and says, "if it should mean 'the water,' the reference will be to the ὕδωρ of Aratos, in which the Zodiacal fishes and various other signs swim. In this dark and nocturnal sign we see the fish-sun, Merodach, who in this month is called 'the Fish of Ea,' concealed in the waters; like the Vedic Surya, who was 'drawn by the gods from the ocean where he was hidden, and then brought forth again to restore the face of the earth'; for the archaic myth or legend attached to the month is the resumption of the cultivation of the earth after the previous catastrophe of the flood." Mr. Brown, then, interprets the non-Semitic name for this month as 'the sowing-of-seed,' but gives no proof whatever for such a translation. If it could be proved, it would do away with a great difficulty. The connection of the sign with this sowing finds a last echo in the statement of the modern astrologer, that it is exceedingly fruitful and luxuriantly productive.

The intercalary month generally observed by the Babylonians, and adopted from them by the Hebrews, was the second Adâr. According to Strassmaier and Epping, *Astronomisches aus Babylon*, p. 179, there were in every cycle of eleven years four intercalary months. This, however, seems only to hold good for the later period

¹⁰⁴ For this god compare III. Rawl. 66, 12 d; and for the god *Dibba(?)ra*, IV. Rawl. 46, 18 ab; the same group of cuneiform signs AN + VII + BI is also used of the *ilâni sibitti*, the seven evil demons (IV. Rawl. 21, 67 sq.; Delitzsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 199).

of the Babylonian empire, when there were months of thirty days alternating with those of twenty-nine days. In early times the intercalary months must have been inserted much seldomer than was the case in later years. But the Babylonians, like the Jews, had only intercalary months, — no intercalary days, as the Egyptians are known to have had. The usual name for the intercalary Adâr is *arxu max-ru ša Addaru* (אַדָּר רֵאשׁוֹן; also called אַדָּר שֵׁנִי, as opposed to אַדָּר רֵאשׁוֹן, Megilla i. 4, Nedarim viii. 2) ; Norris and Sayce read *arxu ma-ak-ru ša Addari*, and compared Hebr. מְקַרְה 'change,' i.e. incidental month of Adâr, no doubt relying on III. Rawl. 55, 41 b, where we read *arxu ma-ag(k, q) ri-[e Addaru]*; but see Delitzsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 190 and p. 191, rem. 9. In *arxu maxru ša Addari*, the adjective *maxru* means 'opposite, counterpart (pendant)'; thus it is the month, which is the duplicate of the month Adâr, "the second Adâr." Another name for this month is *Addaru arkû* (אֶרְכּוּ), "the later, or second, Adâr." The insertion (עִבּוּר, from עִבַּר "make the year pregnant") of the intercalary month *Ve-âdâr*, *Adâr šent*, *Adâr batrâ âh*, as the thirteenth month, numbering twenty-nine days, changed the common year (שָׁנָה פשוטה) into a leap-year (שָׁנָה מעוברת). Others read *arxu magrû ša Addari*, 'the month depending on Adâr,' instead of *arxu maxru*.

The regent of this intercalary month was the god Ašur. This fact shows that the calendar was an original Babylonian, not an Assyrian institution. In later years, when the Assyrians gained the ascendancy, their great national god had to be satisfied with being made regent of this intercalary month. Ašur was at the head of the Assyrian pantheon, the national deity of their empire, to whom the Assyrian kings owed sceptre and crown. The enemies of the Assyrians are also enemies of the god; thus all wars became sacred wars. He was not a nature god, and was placed above Anu, Bêl, and Ea. In time he became the king of the gods. His consort was Belit, i.e. the goddess Ištar of Nineveh; Ištar, the mother of the great gods, was at the same time the beloved consort of Ašur. She was of far greater importance in Assyria than in Babylonia; she was the representative of the Babylonian Anunit, especially as Ištar of Arbela. Jensen and other Assyriologists derive Ašur from an Akkadian AN-ŠAR (ZA. I. 3 sqq.; *Kosmologie*, p. 275); I prefer to consider the name an Assyrian word, connecting it with אִשָּׁר, and interpreting it as "the bringer of good." There is no more connection between *Ašur*, name of the god, and *Aššur*, the country of

Assyria, than there is between 'Αθήνη, the goddess Athene, and 'Αθήναι, Athens.¹⁰⁵

I hope that I have shown that the names of the Babylonian months adopted by the Hebrews are almost without exception of good Semitic origin, and that Meissner's assertion, "diese Monatsnamen sind fast ausschliesslich nicht semitisch, sondern wie ihre Bildung verräth, von einem andern Volksstamme übernommen," is without proof. The series 'ana ittišu to which the list of months belongs, goes back to the time of Hammurabi, and some of the oldest contract tablets know these names for the months.¹⁰⁶ The words mentioned by Meissner as the original names of the months are nothing but appellative epitheta and appositions.

¹⁰⁵ On Aššur see Nöldeke, ZA. I. 268-73; Fränkel, *ibid.* III. 53; and on 'Αθήνη-'Αθήναι my remarks in *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circ.*, No. 81, pp. 75-6; *London Academy*, No. 945, June 14, 1890, pp. 411-12.

¹⁰⁶ Thus we have the *arax zi-bu-tim* and *si-bu-ti* mentioned in a contract and by Sennacherib *Bellino*; I do not see why *arax ra-bu-tim* could not be an epitheton of Nisân and used in its stead; the same is the case with the other words mentioned by Meissner.